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NO. 4

The
VANGUARD

A Monthly Magazine of Progressive Jewish Life

FEBRUARY, 1928

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The Petach-Tikvah Outrage

(Memorandum of Palestine Labor Federation to the
British Labor Party)

What Is The Matter With Zionism?

By Jacob De Haas

Jewish Leadership

By David L. Mekler

A Conservative View of Jewish Radicalism

By Peter Wiernik

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A MAGAZINE OF PROGRESSIVE JEWISH LIFE

ISAAC ZAAR, *Editor*
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FEBRUARY, 1928

No. 4.

THE VANGUARD is a magazine of progressive Jewish life, devoted to the interests of Enlightened Nationalism, Progressive Zionism, Social Advance, and Modern Jewish Culture.

THE VANGUARD is endorsed by

The Poale-Zion of America The Zeire-Zion Hitachduth
The Jewish National Workers' Alliance The Young Poale-Zion
The Woman's Pioneer Organization for Palestine, and
The National Labor Committee for the Organized Workers in Palestine.

THE VANGUARD is open to all who have anything to say on any subject within its scope, irrespective of the editorial policy.

The League and the Homeland

THE report that the League of Nations has undertaken, through its relief agency, to settle in Palestine some seven hundred and fifty Jews now stranded at Constantinople, re-awakens the hope that we may yet secure its aid on a much larger scale and for a much greater purpose: an international loan for the upbuilding of our Homeland.

The League has done great things for Hungary, Austria, and Greece. It has recently approved in principle a new loan of one hundred million dollars for Austria—for the development of her resources and domestic market. We see no valid reason why similar assistance could not be extended to the Jewish Homeland which the

League took under its protecting wing in granting the mandate over Palestine to Great Britain on the basis of the Balfour Declaration.

It were, of course, impossible to obtain the League's help without the prior consent of Great Britain, whose endorsement will likewise be needed before the loan could materialize. But we must think and plan on the supposition that the Mandatory Power will interpose no obstacles, nay, that it will do her share in "facilitating the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine."

The United States has lent to various corporations in Europe some ten billion dollars, since the close of the World War, without government guarantee on either side. Why, then, could not an international loan be extended to the Jews, if both the League

and Great Britain should give their approval?

The League has its machinery for supervising such loans and their investment, and the profits of the industries, the plants, and public utilities established with the loan would go to pay the interests on the bonds. The Jewish Community of Palestine, the direct beneficiary of the loan, could, through its recently attained power of taxation, or by mandate of the British Administration, be made to contribute its share to the amortization of the loan.

Large-scale constructive work would speedily bring into the country hosts of Jews eager to return to their ancient home, thereby swelling the capacity of Palestine Jewry to pay an ever larger share of the financial obligation incurred through the international loan. Private Jewish capital would flow into the Homeland in unending stream, enriching the settlement and enhancing its credit. And, finally, a new vision would open to Jewry the world over, and large funds could be raised for various public purposes, funds which would beggar, in one year's quota, the total secured by Zionist agencies in all the three decades of their labors.

It is becoming increasingly clear that Palestine will not be rebuilt with the meagre funds Zionists of all shades are able to gather, or with the private industrial capital the credit-starved Homeland can attract. Larger funds are imperative, funds which only an international loan can bring. A loan can be secured, the League of Nations and Great Britain would sanction it.

What is required is strong and capable Jewish leadership. We hope such leadership will not be long in coming.

Words and Facts

DR. WILLIAM I. SIROVICH is a man of ambition,—or he would not have battled so hard and so persistently to unhorse his predecessor in Congress. As such, he rightly concluded that, once in the House of Representatives, he must strive for something still higher, to wit, a good reputation as defender of American democracy and the rights of his constituents' brethren in Rumania. And he introduced a resolution, known as H. J. Res. 91, calling upon the President "to intercede in the name of humanity against the outrageous treatment of Rumanian minorities, and, failing in that, to bring about the abrogation of the Treaties between the Kingdom of Rumania and the Government of the United States."

In our last issue we urged upon the Congressman from New York, and the rest of the people's representatives in the House and the Senate, to put teeth in the resolution, to be specific about the Jews whom the resolution was intended to aid. It had seemed clear, that the Doctor rose to the emergency and merely lacked proper knowledge of Rumania in presenting the case of the Jewish people.

But the Rumanian Minister was quick to send a lovely letter to the inexperienced Doctor, and the new Congressman "fell for it", as the vernacular has it. He replied by saying,

"I accept what you have said regarding the attitude of your Government toward

the Jews of Rumania and what it has done and what it intends to do in order to show its abhorrence of the lawlessness of those who are responsible for and participated in the outbreaks referred to, as an assurance that the Jews of Rumania will be accorded the equal protection of the laws and equal educational and other opportunities in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the Minorities treaty entered into and accepted by Rumania on December 9th, 1919. On the faith of what you have said it will afford me pleasure to incorporate the correspondence that has passed between us in the Congressional record."

In addition to this exchange of letters, the Congressman was taken by Mr. Louis Marshall to dinner with Minister Cretziano and the financial counsellor to the Rumanian Legation, Boncesco, and there, at the Waldorf Astoria, on the eventful evening of January 9th, the date of the Sirovich reply to the Minister's communication, peace and harmony were established—and we have heard nothing since of the H. J. Res. 91.

Being a new arrival in high society, Mr. Sirovich was taken off his feet by the sudden honors falling into his lap, and he has reeled into an attitude which is not likely to ingratiate him with people who above all prize consistency and sureness of aim. For the sake of the Congressman's good name, and the Jewish people, we hope that the occurrences in Rumania after his dinner with Mr. Cretziano will have convinced him that, while it is the duty of a foreign representative to defend his government at all costs and under all conditions, nothing but strong action, such as he first planned, will bring Rumania to her senses.

ENTRE NOUS

MR. LOUIS MARSHALL is apparently bent on destroying the last vestiges of his reputation with the Jewish people. In this he is displaying an energy he had never shown before. He has, for reasons of his own, determined to check the protest movement against Rumania and is proceeding in a fashion which is perilously near the blackest treason.

Alone and unaided, this formerly great Jewish leader rose up against an enraged public opinion and is hacking away at all its props in sight.

First he got William I. Sirovich to desist from pressing his resolution in Congress and now he induced Senator King of Utah, who was to have spoken at a Newark meeting of protest against Rumania and who had made it known that he intended to take up the Jewish cause in the Senate, to cancel his engagement—and his plans in behalf of Rumanian Jewry.

For unaccountable reasons Mr. Marshall enjoyed for long years the confidence of the Jews, and reaped benefits out of all proportion to his abilities. With the cloak of Jewish leadership he could cover the reactionary deeds of his legal career. Always sure to be found on the side of predatory interests in all the battles of progressive America, from child labor to fare rates, he managed to play the defender of his race,—until he convinced some of our non-Jewish friends that he was the spokesman of American Jewry.

This influence he is now using in his war against Jewish opinion. Un-

mindful of the criticism leveled against him—or rather stung into greater stubbornness and blind Bourbon fury by Jewish condemnation—he is leaving no stone unturned in his losing fight for power.

Apropos Mr. Marshall. It will interest the reader to know that we have received, on January 12th, the following anonymous little note, undated and scrawled on a small square of paper torn from a large envelope:

Dear Sir:

May this not be an answer to the diatribe on page 7, Vol. 1, No. 3 of THE VANGUARD?
I. Wonder.

"This" proved to be the *Jewish Daily Bulletin* of January the 11th, which carried the exchange of letters between the Rumanian Minister and Congressman Sirovich and the news about the dinner at Waldorf Astoria which was calculated to round off the happy composition of all differences between Rumania and her Jewry. . . .

We have our guess as to the authorship of the anonymous little note, but assuming it to have been written by some forlorn friend of Mr. Marshall's, we cannot repress our surprise at the clumsiness and cowardliness of the writer. Obviously, he is too uncertain of his feelings to risk a public defence of the New York lawyer, otherwise he would not resort to a method which might arouse the suspicion that it was Mr. Marshall himself who wrote it.

RABBI MEYER BERLIN is a man of great versatility, his talents running all the way from insurance salesmanship to high-handed generalship. But above

all he loves a fight. He is the stormy petrel of the Zionist movement and the *enfant terrible* of his own Mizrachi organization. The administration Zionists never feel at ease unless they have succeeded in placating the Rabbi. He is at all Zionist congresses and always where the fight is thickest. He is ever at loggerheads with somebody, be it the Administration, the radical wing in Zionism or the Chalutzim in Palestine.

His militant spirit grows with age—or shall we say, his grumbling waxes with the advancing years? He has developed the habit to a degree that, for want of anybody else to break lances with, he turned upon his own colleagues—and recently raised quite a rumpus, at the Boston convention of the American Mizrachi.

Though his home is now in Palestine, he will not relinquish his hold on the American Mizrachi, for very good and sufficient reasons, of course. He managed to deadlock the convention and to get himself clothed with powers equal to those of the Executive Committee, whose very choice was left to his discretion, in consultation with the Administrative Committee, the convention itself proving unable to elect its Executive. Having achieved his purpose, he called upon the uproarious delegates to unite for the good of the cause, so safe in his hands.

Mussolini of the Black Shirt has nothing on his compeer of the Skull-cap. If anything, the Rabbi would have the better of the argument, for he can rule his flock without the aid of carabinieri and while domiciled thousands of miles away from his "kingdom."

LEON TROTZKY is said to have made an appeal to the Communist International to fight his case at the forthcoming sixth congress of that Foreign Committee of Russian Bolshevism. Going into exile and at the end of his rope, he clutches at straws. The Red International being a mere adjunct of Red Moscow, it will follow the dictates of the powers that be, as it has done heretofore, and there is no likelihood that Trotzky's very name will be mentioned by the high priests of Bolshevism and their retinue who compose those congresses.

In his statement he admits that repressive measures are justified, but only when applied to the "enemies of labor", not to him and his colleagues of the opposition. Dictatorship and ruthless suppression are all right—for the other fellow. Time was when he had no compunction about destroying his former comrades in the Menshevist ranks where he had held sway before joining Lenin. He freely lent support and countenance to the reign of terror which was—and still is—directed primarily against socialists who could not reconcile the knout with their ideals of liberty and happiness. All non-Bolshevist socialists were declared "enemies of the working class" by the regime which had Trotzky at its very top. But Trotzky was then in the saddle, and everything that he did was right and proper. Now that he is given a taste of his own medicine, he does not like it.

The fallen hero had apparently believed too much in his usefulness to the Communist rule and he failed to take precautions against possible ene-

mies from within. He forgot that dictatorship brooks no equality, that one must either rule or be ruled, and he is now paying for his lack of foresight—or character. He is still blind to the implications of the regime he helped establish against his better judgment. He is reported to have stated in his appeal that

"We submit to force and leave our party work for a purposeless exile, but we are confident that we shall reappear in the coming great battle. We are being persecuted for our opinions, which we cannot relinquish."

A man with such views of his own situation is a hopeless case, and he will go down to the smiles of the wise and the guffaws of the masses. Which will, by the way, prolong his life. For one who is laughed out of court is considered too harmless to do any mischief to the ruling clique. He will now have plenty of time to meditate on the uncertainties of life and the fickleness of fate, and will longingly reminisce of the happy days when Knout Socialism was not thought of, and when Lenin was a mere freak to him.

He carries into exile, it is true, some of the halo which the masses of the world are always ready to cast about the head of a man whom fate had tossed into a high place; but we may be sure that Stalin, and then another, perhaps, will take his place in the imagination of the people, and he will pretty soon become nothing but a memory, if that. He has done his large share of mischief in the world, and the curtain is ringing down on him none too soon.

WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH ZIONISM?

By JACOB DE HAAS

The Zionist movement has landed in a morass, and extraordinary efforts will be required to lift it to a higher plane. A thorough discussion of the situation by clear-headed, serious-minded champions of the cause may help in finding the way and the methods. It is a battle of enlightenment, to be waged valiantly and fearlessly, and we invite all good and patriotic fighters to close in and fire away from the vantage point of *The Vanguard*. Ed.

THERE is widespread, world-wide discontent in the Zionist movement. Palestinian emigration, Polish Al Mishmar, Jabotinsky's Revisionism, Dr. Wise's Cleveland speech, the mood in which men talk of the demoralization of the movement, the chaos at the Mizrahi Convention, the "whistling in the churchyard" attempted by the *New Palestine*, the defence of the Dead Sea concessions in the Administration organ, the London *New Judea*, the sad attitude of all the delegations that have come across the sea, and the hope that salvation is in the Jewish Agency—all these are evidences that the "glory hath departed," the halo has been broken, and the time for discussion and public criticism has arrived.

An incompetent leadership has brought the Zionist movement to this low-water mark, and the artificial stimulation provided by celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration can not disguise the fact. One Boston Zionist, it is true, has returned from Palestine convinced that

it was the best of all possible worlds, but he stands solitary. The rest, Zionists who went to see and tourists who merely gazed, have returned, not in the mood of Joshua and Caleb, but in the spirit of the ten spies who brought bad reports. The burden of the coming defense has been prepared: "The Jews have not given enough," and so they are being spurred to give more.

And if they add, let us say, \$5,000,000 to the \$35,000,000 spent in Palestine, will the "crisis" end and the morale improve? Not one whit. The incompetence of the leadership is organic and complete, except in its capacity for sonorous declamation that sounds like purposeful utterance. It believes Barnum, rather than Lincoln, understood the capacity of the public for being fooled. So far its faith in the moronic simplicity of the Jews has been justified.

The incompetence of the leadership is demonstrated by its political failure within Jewry; its diplomatic failure in facing the mandatory power, and its complete lack of vision and understanding of the problems involved in the building of the Homeland.

Let us examine briefly these types of failure—there are many others. Within the Zionist ranks the leadership has succeeded everywhere in forcing old and tried men out and it has brought no new forces in. Excepting Mr. Baron, the London philanthropist, no new conspicuous personality has

been added in a decade. The great asset of Zionism, achievement, has produced no real response in man power. The movement is much weaker than in 1917.

The present negotiations involved in the Jewish Agency are actually a negation of the position taken by Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Sokolow in the beginning of 1917, when they were struggling to convince the British Government of the claims of Zionism. In May of that year David L. Alexander and Claude G. Montefiore of the London Conjoint Foreign Committee, protesting against political Zionism, stated that they "had expressed in the winter of 1914 their readiness to cooperate with them (the Zionist Organization) on the basis of the so-called 'cultural policy' which had been adopted at the last two congresses in 1911 and 1913." In the same spirit, and about the same date, the late Jacob H. Schiff said that he did not believe in a Jewish nation, "but favored a great reservoir of Jewish learning." Therefore, Mr. Felix Warburg's support of the University, the recent adumbration of the spiritual center, and all that is publicly known concerning the negotiations of the Jewish Agency indicate that the Anglo-Jewish and the American Jewish communities have not been brought any nearer to the concrete Homeland idea. But the Zionist leaders in their anxiety to gain support in 1927 ate the humble pie they proudly rejected in the days when they had not yet achieved the leadership. In their policy toward the non-Zionists they accept now what was available in 1914.

If that is not surrender, what is it? Their record is like the victory of the Jewish soldier who captured the Cosack who would not let his captor go.

Diplomatically the Zionist leaders surrendered the Balfour Declaration when they hurriedly signed acceptance of the Churchill White Paper. And what substance was left in that White Paper has been lost in the intervening years. Even the *de jure* Jewish Agency disappeared during the negotiations in the vital Dead Sea Concessions. Dr. Weizmann, who in 1925 did not know that Lord Plumer had been appointed High Commissioner of Palestine—a confession betraying the regard in which he was held by the Colonial Office—has recently been busy in the Balkans and Mr. Sokolow has been studying the Titus Arch in Rome. Do we expect that Rumania will give us El Arish, or Czecho-Slovakia Trans-Jordania? Will the president of the German Republic provide us with access to the Litany River or the Pope change the customs duties in Palestine?

Indeed, we shall be amazed if the League of Nations endorses the Zionist notes to the tune of \$35,000,000, which, according to the *Yiddishe Volk*, is the promise held out by Dr. Weizmann to the Polish Zionists. The figure, however, has been whittled down for those who read English. We need not labor the diplomatic failure. One Zionist is to be the camouflage for the British-owned and controlled Dead Sea concession, while a number of Russian Zionists for political reasons are denied admission to Palestine. "You had the right to dissemble your

love, but why did you kick me down-stairs," is suggested by these contrary events whilst our peripatetic leadership follows its endless touring of the world. Its diplomacy invites explanation, particularly since a "political fund" has been called for.

A Zionist of the mild-mannered type, having spent a month keenly observing conditions in Palestine, writes: "The fact which stands out is that so far the Jew in Palestine has proven to be a failure." That is too sweeping, but as it is based entirely on a consideration of economic factors, it cannot be construed into a compliment to the economic understanding or policy of the Zionist leadership. The settlers express that thought in another way. In July, 1926, the emigration exceeded the immigration by 105 persons and this ratio has been worsened since month by month. The last figures to hand for November, 1927, show a loss of 101 persons for one month. The Jewish settlement has decreased by approximately 8 per cent in eighteen months. The earning power of those who remained has not been increased, a dole system has become necessary and a national operation has been completely transmuted into a not very successful charity.

Thirty-five million dollars have been disbursed by Zionists in Palestine without creating direct earning power. On top of this non-productive capital is a burden of Zionist organization indebtedness which is variously calculated at from five to seven and a half million dollars. Behind this is a large semi-public indebtedness and a still larger private individual indebtedness.

Now all this indebtedness would not be tragic if the debts represented capital, however, accumulated, that had been employed productively. But the orange industry, which existed before the Balfour Declaration was issued, remains the only Jewish industry that shows a profit, though possibly a few of the minor factories employing from five to ten hands are doing well. The figures betray the agricultural, industrial and commercial incompetence of the Zionist leadership.

The average Jew coming to America starts with the proverbial shoe string. Palestine is not America, the Jews are not Danes—all this verbal blather will be repeated *ad nauseam*. But the fact remains that the Zionist Organization has collected over \$450 for every Jew who has settled in Palestine since 1920, and fully \$600 for every Jewish settler if we add the debts incurred by its subsidiaries. And that is no mean sum, for \$600 is about equivalent to the per capita assessment valuation of real estate in the average small American city. What has happened to all that money poured into Palestine? Mr. S. Hoofien, the manager of the Anglo-Palestine Company, knows. He discussed, in February, 1919, what had happened with all the money sent to Palestine between 1914 and 1918. He thereupon drew up a memorandum, a copy of which I gave the World Zionist Organization for guidance as to its future policy. The incident is merely characteristic—the failure to study this report, the failure to act on it is merely evidence of incompetence in thought and action.

The members of the Zionist Organization, and this includes both the right and the left wings, are perfectly within their rights in passing resolutions of confidence in the world leaders, their party and federation leaders. The skilful publicity agents paid to render personal adulation will continue to function excellently, and every one will no doubt in due course "get his picture in the paper," and in turn every Zionist will "be mentioned" locally or nationally. But all these votes and all these pictures, aided by the Janus policy of those who attack the leaders personally but support the leadership, will not diminish the height and breadth of the Zionist administra-

tive incompetence, whether measured in policies, diplomacy, economics, administration, methods of collection or disbursing monies.

I revise my correspondent's conclusion. It is not the Jew in Palestine that has proven a failure, for he has not had a chance to succeed. The failure is that of the Zionist Organization which in all its operations is "inebriated with the exuberance of its own verbosity." Meaningless and purposeless, pompous and whining, threatening and cajoling dictionary spilling cannot build a land. If strings of words could accomplish, the Zionist leadership would not have failed so dismally.



AT BREAK OF DAWN

By RAE W. JACOBY

The river Kishon like a long green snake
 Curls in its stream and whispers to the wind,
 "Will they ever come?"
 And Mt. Carmel in majestic magnitude
 Drowsily observing Haifa Bay,
 Is musing, "Where might they be?"
 And the Bay splashing its foamy waves
 Is keeping council with itself
 Saying, "Nay, nay, not yet. . . .
 But they must be near
 For time is high. . . .
 The breaking dawn scatters the clouds
 And rays come gleaming through the air;
 They must be nigh. . . ."
 And then,—
 Marching slowly, step by step,
 Came the pioneers.

JEWISH LEADERSHIP IN AMERICA

By DAVID L. MEKLER

THE character of an individual may be judged by the character of his associates, runs the old saying. But that of a people—by its leaders, the Jewish people to the contrary notwithstanding.

One may hardly know the American Jews by their leaders, though bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh, with all the earmarks of what we may term as typically American. A wide, and yet unspanned, gulf divides the Jewish leaders in America from their people.

Jewish leadership hardly ever was representative. It was almost invariably self-appointed, without regard to the wish of the people. This was so with those who appeared as the Jewish representatives before the outside world, and this was also the case with those who held the reins of power within the Jewish gate.

In America where Jews, in the early years of their arrival, were much less, or not at all, organized, particularly in a national sense, their leaders were from the outset self-appointed. They sprang from obscurity and boldly set the crown of leadership upon their own heads. There would hardly be any one to challenge their right to leadership, much less to dare depose them.

Democratic principles had not as yet taken root at that time in Jewish life in America, though Jews as individuals quite readily responded to American democracy and became ardent sup-

porters of American institutions. It was the heyday of all sorts of usurpers, local as well as national. Every Jewish community, congregation, society, union, order or organization had its own usurper, one who pushed himself to the front by mere boldness and persistence.

The chief cause for that goodly crop of self-appointed and self-styled Jewish leaders was the lack of unity among the Jews in America.

Contrary to the belief almost universally held among gentiles, Jews are not a united people, nor are they set upon a single purpose. They hardly ever march under one flag or follow one leader.

The Jews in America are even more divided. Having congregated from all parts of the globe, they are but a heterogeneous mass, a rock consisting of loosely cemented pebbles. Not only is there the division of class, but also of party, sect, place of birth. The Yahudi is quite distinct from the ordinary Jew; the American born from the foreign born; the Western European Jew from the Eastern European, the Occidental Jew from the Oriental Jew, the nationalistic Jew from the assimilated Jew, the Zionist from the non-Zionist, the orthodox from the reformist, the Litwak from the Galician, the radical from the conservative, etc., etc.

Each sect, party or "landmanshaft" (Townsmanship) has its own leader or leaders, and Jewish leadership is

therefore just as much divided and torn apart as are the masses of the lead.

The Jewish tendency to group together, to form close settlements, even where they have all the freedom of movement and domicile, is countered by an inclination to break away from the mass, to leave the Jewish section and to live among strangers. These opposite tendencies are also to be noticed in Jewish organized life. As soon as one congregation, one society, one organization forms, a second one, usually the result of a split, springs up at its side, duplicating its work and both competing for supremacy.

Herein the efforts of those who would ever seek new organizations in order to become their leaders, contribute their mighty share. For Jews, though they may dislike leaders, as they dislike authority and discipline in general, breed them, nevertheless, in much greater numbers than do other peoples. Thus it seems at times as if we were an army consisting entirely of generals and other high-grade officers.

And yet there is always a mass to follow and acclaim each leader. And the leaders are ever ambitious, some reaching out for what may be termed national leadership. In fact, national prominence is always the great stake even the most obscure leader is after.

To some Jewish leadership has become a profession, in the full sense of the word, a considerably well-paid profession, though quite hazardous, since it is the professional leader who is more in danger of losing his place. For others it is only a mere stepping stone in their careers, aiming, as they do, at prominence beyond the Jewish

circle—and a great many have gained the sought-for advantage because of their Jewish activities.

To be sure, there are many instances where the cloak of Jewish leadership is thrown upon the shoulders of a person almost against his will. He is dragged into Jewish life and activity by those who sincerely believe in his ability or have other reasons to bring him to the front. This is usually the case with those who had achieved prominence in American life or otherwise had suddenly become known for one reason or another, which is enough to make them fit, in the eyes of many, and usually the ones whose attention means recognition, to become leaders in Israel. Such a one may be uninformed, little acquainted with Jewish problems. He may have been raised in an atmosphere foreign to Jewish life. He may be even frank enough to admit his ignorance and his incompetency for the role of a Jewish leader, but his adherents, and there will be many of them for no particular reason at all, will insist upon the great gain for American Jewry in his leadership and will do their utmost to carry him to a high pedestal.

"Your name alone will be sufficient," they will tell him—and a new star appears in the galaxy of Jewish leadership. Encouraged by his adherents, he will make public speeches which are samples of Jewish Babbitism and unfamiliarity with the subject and the public. The prominence and the riches he has gained in the world at large are enough to shield him from criticism. All honors are bestowed upon him. His place among the "im-

mortals" of Jewish leadership is assured.

Though at first somewhat uncertain of himself, he sooner or later finds comfort in his new position and his new glory. He finds it even profitable in the sense that his prominence among his brethren has added to his glory elsewhere. It may even bring him honors as a compliment to the Jews whose leader he is reputed to be.

Sometimes the leader is only the handiwork of a clever press agent. The idea of the press agent may have occurred to the would-be leader himself as soon as he realized that Jewish leadership was something worthwhile having. We know of cases where the press agent picked his "leader." He saw the great possibilities of grooming his man for the role. The press agent got to work, set the stage for his "client." The press agent, as a man of no mean ability, knew what to do. When his man spoke in public he had him prepared for his role. A clever speech was written for him. Statements, brimming with Jewish scholarship and wisdom, were ready for him in advance, and the new leader was hailed as the wisest, cleverest, most scholarly of leaders that ever appeared in Jewish life in America.

In spite of the manner in which certain of the leaders of this type rose to prominence in Jewish life, some of them have been honest, sincere, self-sacrificing, even showing a measure of courage.

Leaders of this type must be distinguished from the "careerists," mostly professional politicians and

"professional" leaders. Both have deliberately chosen the path of Jewish leadership, the former as an aid to his political career, and the latter as a means to a livelihood, having met with no success in other fields of activity.

The professional leader, usually the "shlimazel" and the scapegoat, is not much unlike his colleague the careerist. Both are rarely fighters, rarely blazers of new trails. They dare not antagonize people, trying rather to follow than to lead, since a policy of that kind is the safest way to protect oneself and assures popularity with all sides. They are ready to support almost any cause and follow any course of action. Anything that captures the popular mind will get their approval. They will go to all lengths to win applause.

The careerist, as well as the professional leader, is well compensated for his efforts. But the former is the greater gainer of the two, for his compensation is chiefly in a political way. The prominence he gains among his brethren means votes when he runs for office and is the best recommendation for governmental appointment.

As to the policy both such leaders follow in their Jewish activities, it is thoroughly American in spirit as well as in fact. They are democratic, always looking for the support of the people and therefore making it appear as if they were the real leaders of the masses. This is quite different from the policy followed by the Yahudi leader who, while representing, at best, only a small clique of plutocratic Jews, who by the mere fact that they possess

riches regard themselves as the protectors and guides of the Jewish people, is always true to his traditions, glorifying in autocracy and ignoring the will of the masses.

The professional leaders are even advancing the tendency in American Jewry to make its leadership more representative, to have its leaders chosen on democratic principles. In this they not only try to be on the popular side but also forge the sword with which to kill the autocratic Goliath of the Yahudi that would not submit to any democratic innovations, maintaining that the good interest of the Jewish people demand no change in policy and method.

The Yahudi leader, though he glories in American democracy and its institutions, would not allow such principles to take root in Jewish life, presumably for fear that democracy will lead to his own downfall as leader and, what is probably worse, to a new policy, a bolder and more daring one which he very much dislikes. Whatever may be said about the Yahudi, he has his point of view. He knows what he wants. He believes that it is his "divine" right to represent his brethren, to lead them and to protect them. The idea of representative leadership is abhorrent to him. It terrifies him. In his view it would bring to the front the Jewish "rabble," which he would do his utmost to keep off the stage.

The Yahudi leader, in his method and point of view, is only an American edition of the old-fashioned "Shtadlon," who had held sway in European countries for centuries but

has given place to the new Jewish leader of our times. He adheres to his restricted organizations, holding their sessions behind closed doors and practises secret diplomacy, always insisting on moderation, not so much because this brings better results, but rather because he is afraid to speak his mind, to tell the truth.

Though the Yahudi leader has also his human side, desiring publicity as much as his more popular colleague, he shuns the people. He dares not descend from his Olympian heights to take counsel with the commoners, not even with their leaders. And yet he desires popular approval. When he makes his appearance before the public it is as the sovereign who comes only to deliver his message to his subjects. He tells of his achievements, if he does tell at all, in the past and may also once in a while reveal his plans for the future. Nothing more. He withdraws under the thunderous applause of the populace from a stage well set and prepared in advance.

The Yahudi leader is always certain of his mission and of his duties. He has no doubts as to his right to lead his people. Neither does he doubt as to the perpetuation of his leadership. Yet he is American enough to know that one must hold the masses in order to remain in power. Even an oligarchy must have the approval of the populace, at least not open disapproval. He would not submit to democracy but he would use all the arts of the more representative leader in order to make it appear that he, too, is with and for the people all the time. This he must do in self-

defense and also in order to make it appear before the outside world, whose opinions he values most, that he his democratic and the chosen leader of his people.

In maintaining his position as leader, his chief aid is money. The people that support him have wealth. They are the more influential in the outside world. No Jewish institution, no Jewish organization can get along without their support. Jews are compelled in most cases to appeal for their support, which is oftentimes taken for approval of their leadership.

To be sure, now and then there appears a Yahudi leader who really gains popularity among the Jewish masses. He is looked up to. He is hailed on all sides. He is philanthropic and sin-

cere in his activities on behalf of his brethren. The masses appreciate it though they may not relish his aloofness. It also happens that a courageous and clever leader of the masses, by his own effort or by the conspicuousness of his achievements, is taken into the councils of the Yahudim. Some think that the time is fast arriving when the gulf, separating the rich Jews from the poor, will be closed. In fact, the citadels of plutocratic Jews in America do seem to be breaking; the efforts for united action are being ever renewed and with greater success. But the gulf is still unbridged. American Jewry is still split. Jewish leadership is still a failure. American Jewry is still a house divided against itself.

B

MOVING

By P. M. RASKIN

I have moved from the house in the valley
To live in the house on the hill;
I have moved from the house in the valey—
But I live there still.

I have left in the house of the valley
Something that never dies;
My fingers on every door-knob,
On each pane of the windows—my eyes.

I have left there, too, on the porches,
The dreams that will never be told;
One may move to many new houses,
But one must live in the old.

A CONSERVATIVE VIEW OF JEWISH RADICALISM

By PETER WIERNIK

We have invited Mr. Wiernik, the outstanding Jewish journalist, author and thinker, whose critical attitude towards radicalism is pronounced, to give our readers a clear definition of his views. The following outline, though brief and in humorous vein, states the case squarely and does full justice to the writer.—Ed.

THE propounder of the query: What would happen if an irresistible force should meet an immovable body, ought to have made a study of Jewish radicalism. The answer which, according to tradition, he received, that the result would be a heterogeneous conglomeration of incomprehensible incongruities, could not satisfy anybody, not even those vaguely emotional radicals whose state of mind those four "jaw-breakers" come near describing, if such feat is at all possible.

That irresistible force which resists everything, seems to be a part of the modern Jewish mind, especially typical of the East-European or Russian Jew, whose rebellious spirit received a peculiar twist from contact with the Slavic mind. One would have to go back seven centuries, to the Mongol conquest and the resulting social and economic backwardness, to the persistence of autocracy and semi-socialistic land-tenure down to our own times, to understand why intellectual Russia was always more radical, more susceptible to absorbing socialist doctrine than the "intelligenzia" of Western countries. Russia needed a revolution, needed it very badly, and the emigrant who is ever loath to admit

that he comes from inferior surroundings, is naturally insistent that a revolution would be equally as good everywhere else.

And so we have that radicalism in the form of socialism in its various ramifications, spread out over a large part of our world of activity, shading off from red communism on the extreme left, through left and right socialism, turning the nationalistic corner with the socialists-territorialists, descending, or ascending, through the left and the right wings of Poale Zionism into the camp of general Zionism, almost touching the edge of the Mizrachi movement. Even in middle class life the radical bent is clearly apparent.

Those general confessions of belief or of adherence to idealistic concepts of what the world ought to be, must however not be taken very seriously. By a strange coincidence, which to my mind has a profound significance, this world, which seems to become all socialistic, is also, and has been for many centuries, almost all Christian. Only in our swiftly moving times decades will bring changes which in slow-moving generations it took almost milleniums to accomplish. As Christianity was spreading, it gradually shed its purely Jewish principles with the aid of which it conquered the world, and became almost pagan. In the present time socialism relinquishes more and more its true Marxian severity and thoroughness the nearer it gets to power

or the longer it holds on to it. It is becoming capitalistic even in Moscow, and in countries which stand higher, the election of an Ebert as President of Germany or the elevation of a MacDonald to the premiership of Great Britain affected the economic structure of those countries much less than our country would be affected by the election to the presidency of a Bryan or a La Follette.

The analogy is even more strange, or more significant, when we turn our attention to the origin, or originators, of the two movements. The bearer of the Marxian message for the last two generations is astonishingly similar to the propagandist of Christianity for the first two or three centuries A. D. They were both detached, if we do not want to use the harsher word, renegades, from the Jewish camp. Each of them apparently conquered the world as an irresistible force spreading outward, and each of them left behind an immovable body, of apparently small dimensions, which remained adamant to all the blandishments of a new interpretation of its hoary principles.

When the spread of Christianity began to assume large proportions, the time soon came when "The Greeks began to murmur against the Hebrews". We have no exact data about the number of Hebrews who turned aside, or back, on a road which could not have led in any other direction than to that of the parental immovable body. One must be deaf not to hear that same "murmur" in the radical camps of today, and blind not to see in its results the turning, in increasing numbers, of Jewish radicals in the di-

rection of our nationalism.

When we last hear of the "Ebionites", the ultra-Jewish sect in early Christendom, they were not popular among either Christians or Jews. The ultra-Jewish socialist has, and deserves, more luck, for his turning to nationalism is a bolder defiance of his new faith, despite the obstinacy with which he clings to its shadow. Therein lies the merit of radical nationalism among the Jews. It is a form of repentance, a search for redemption; its effort to continue the struggle in the Jewish camp may be sincere, but it has taken itself definitely out of that outward stream of cosmopolitan destructiveness, which changes while it seemingly engulfs the world and may yet return to plague its ancestors, as Christianity did when it became full grown and—un-Christian.

And now the riddle at the beginning of the article can be solved much clearer than it could be done with the quoted sesqui-pedalian verbiage. The irresistible force is a sham, to start with, and at any rate it is centrifugal, running away from the immovable body from which it originated. When it turns back nobody is so foolish as to consider it irresistible. Continuous change has yielded to the eternal verities, supreme faith has triumphed over revolution, marvelous endurance has demonstrated that salvation lies in obedience to law, not in suspension, repeal or defiance of law. The immovable body may seem as small, or smaller than ever, but if we consider what it has sent out, what it has resisted and whom it had survived, the only force which is truly irresistible is latent within it.

THE PURSUER OF WOMEN

By ZMIRA CARMEL

(Translated from the Hebrew in Berdichevsky's collection, Vol. 1)

ONCE there lived a man named Nathan, who was very wealthy, and, like most rich and carefree, indulged himself in all the pleasures the human senses can enjoy. And because, heretofore nothing he wished for had ever been denied him, he dared cast longing eyes upon the beautiful Hana, who lived with her husband in a humble cottage nearby and was very, very poor.

Hana was more than commonly fair. She was a beauty, and a personality; for not only had she symmetry of feature and form, but depth and rare poise for one of her station in life. Yet was she humble in her beauty, and a good and devoted wife to her husband, Menachim.

Nathan spent many hours each day behind the screen of foliage in his garden, and devoured with his eyes the loveliness of Hana as she went about her duties and labored in her patch of garden. But a time came when his admiration and desire for her passed the bounds of control. All his days and nights were filled with the thought of her. He lost all interest in life. He could neither sleep nor eat. He lived in constant torment. At length, his health broke down, and he took to bed, hopelessly ill.

Physicians were sent for, the most learned and wise in the land. They came and pondered, yet all their skill and learning was of no avail. None of them could discover the seat of dis-

turbance. A sick man without a malady. It was confounding. At length, Nathan confessed to them his overwhelming love for Hana, and ended by stating that only she could quicken the life-beat in his heart.

Confusion now ensued, for it was known that Hana was married to Menachim, and above temptation. So, as is usual in perplexing instances, the case was brought to the Rabbis, but they only shook their heads and decided against Nathan.

"Better that a man should die, than a good woman fall into sin," they declared. And all the pleading of Nathan's friends that Hana need involve herself no more than to appear before the eyes of the sick man, could not move them one whit. The Rabbis remained firm and forbade Hana to have anything to do with Nathan, or his people.

So Nathan continued in a state of dejection and weakness. Melancholy settled upon him, and it was felt that he was a lost man.

At this time it so happened that Menachim became heavily indebted, and when all his slender resources failed him he was thrown into prison. Hana looked about for some means of discharging their debts, and so she took to spinning and sat at her spindle industriously from morning till night, yet was she unable to lift the heavy burden of debt from their shoulders.

And when darkness fell, when she

could no longer see to work, she left the house and, with bread and water, went to the cell of Menachim to sit with him and to comfort him.

It went hard with Menachim, too. In his prison cell there was neither light nor air, and the bread which Hana brought him was only half-sufficient. His strength left him, and disease ravished his body and racked his soul.

One evening, when Hana came, she found him in despair.

Said Menachim, "Hana, light of my life, and sharer of my burdens, endeavor to free me from this prison. I can bear it no more."

And she replied:

"Menachim, my husband, you know there is nothing I would not do for you. Your pain is my pain. But where shall I find the money to pay the debts? Alas, we have no friends or acquaintances with wealth to afford the loan."

A deep hush fell upon them. Hana waited for Menachim to speak, but he was as silent as the grave. Little by little the ghastly pallor of his countenance became tinged with red, as one who suffered burning shame. His eyes he turned to the blank wall before him, and looked not at her, and then he spoke:

"Hear, my wife, what I am about to say. A man will give all he possesses to save his soul. Go to Nathan, the sick, and ask him to lend us the sum we owe. Only by this kindness of yours can I live."

Hana trembled when she heard these words.

"Oh, my husband," she cried in dismay, "how can you think of sending me to him. Well you know that he loves me, and is even now on his sick-bed for love of me. Daily his messengers harass me with his offerings of money and rare jewels if I will but accept his love. And it is certain that with the first step I make upon his grounds he will believe that I have yielded to his entreaties. Does my virtue mean so little to you?"

And Menachim gave no answer but kept his face turned to the wall.

With aching heart, Hana went from him.

Fourteen days passed by, and each night failed to bring her to his cell. She kept to her house and fought the anguish that was in her soul.

At length, she concluded, "I will go and release my husband from his oppressors. The sorrows which afflict him are greater than the peril of my soul."

She prayed with the intense fervor of one who stands upon the precipice of eternal damnation. . . .

". . . God, be with me in my hour of trial . . . give me strength, nor let my heart weaken . . . save me from the lust and passions of man. . . ."

And changing her gown, she turned her steps towards the palatial home of Nathan. His slaves, when they spied her, hastened to inform Nathan that Hana, the wife of Menachim, was at his gates.

Nathan's heart leaped, and a slow color began to creep into his ashen cheeks. Yet he could scarce believe what his ears had heard.

"If I find that you are mocking me, then is your head not safe upon your shoulders," he exclaimed.

"Dear master, how could I jest upon a matter so dear to your happiness? I swear by my life, I have spoken naught but the truth."

And presently another slave came running and said that Hana was now passing through his gardens, and was on her way to the house.

"Ah, merciful heavens," cried the bewildered man, "is my life not wretched enough but that my servants must plot to make it more wretched still?"

No sooner had he uttered these words than there came another, exclaiming, "Master, master, Hana the beautiful is here. She waits to be admitted into your gracious presence."

And even yet he doubted, though his heart hammered, and he almost swooned for joy.

"Ah, if this be true, then are you all free men this day."

Eagerly the slaves spread a rug of rare value and beauty, and thereon piled cushions of silk and velvet. And then they left him, to receive the long-awaited guest.

Softly draperies parted, and Hana, the rare,—Hana, the beautiful, stood at his chamber door.

"Your servant, Hana, is come."

"Ah, no," denied Nathan, "Hana, my princess, my dearest in life, is come. Pray be seated. Would that my entertainment were a thousandfold more beautiful, yet even then is there aught befitting such matchless beauty? There is a frown like a dark cloud upon your brow. It is my joy

to serve you, Hana. Give me that happiness, nothing will be too much, nor impossible."

Hana hesitated just a moment and then said sadly, "It may be known to you that my husband has become greatly indebted and will surely perish in prison unless by your kindness his sum is forthcoming. If you will but save his life, I promise you, we both will toil from sun-up to sun-down, until this debt has been repaid."

Like a man with a new lease of life, he sprang from his couch and opening his treasure chest took the sum she had named and gave it to her.

"Your graciousness and goodness can be fittingly rewarded only by Him Who rewards all. As for us, it is a life you save, and we shall be ever thankful to you," said Hana as she received his generosity. But when she sought to take her leave of him he detained her.

"Hana, you must hear me now, as ever you have evaded me. My love for you is no whim of a day. It has burned in my soul this many a year. From the first day, when my eyes fell upon you, have I from that moment loved you, lost sleep over you, longed for you. I am exceedingly wealthy, yet, what is this all to me if my heart is starved by unrequited love?"

He stepped to his treasure chest and carelessly let priceless stones fall through his fingers.

Diamonds and rubies, what are they to me, when I cannot see your face which is as lovely as the moon? What

are the treasures of kings when those dove-like eyes are far from me? Hana, be mine. Stay with me here. Let me but once embrace this heavenly beauty come to earth. Hana, I and my fortune lie at your feet.

A heavy sigh escaped her.

"The pangs of your soul are not strangers to me. Yet I am under your roof, and I am in your power. You can do what you will with me. But remember," her eyes aflame, her superb figure erect, stern, like avenging justice, "the wrong that men do is not forgotten. God sees and hears all. And not the least of sins is the sin of him who dishonors the wife of his friend. Neither is the woman held blameless. It is a sin whose scourge is everlasting.

"Yet am I in your power," she ended slowly. "Ah, if you could but crush this evil spirit in you. If you could send away the woman you love as undefiled as she came, then would God bless you,—and me, your servant."

And now the flames in the heart of Nathan burned even stronger and brighter than before. What eloquence, what virtue, what understanding! He saw that she was beautiful, but he had not known how good she was, nor how understanding. Oh, fortunate the man espoused to such a woman! And why not he the man? God of the universe! Why had not He willed that he, Nathan be blessed? Why was she not here by right? Why must the word 'forbidden' burn before him? On the floor, on the walls, on the ceiling, in the corners, and wherever his eyes did turn it sprang before him in

scorching flames, searing his soul. So this is the beginning? From the mere thought of sin. Endless reproaches eating the soul, and sucking the life out. Like leeches. And the woman there, lovely as the angels of heaven, besmirched forever. Sorrow and suffering without end. . . .

His mind was a wilderness, his heart crushed, bleeding at every pore. Hana, his beloved, his dream, there so near, and yet how far, oh, God, how far. He prayed, "My heart is breaking. Give me strength, oh, God, I will tear it out. Give me strength."

After an eon of time, it seemed to her, his voice came wearily.

"Go home, and peace be with you."

"May God reward you," she answered softly and left.

The following day Nathan, the rich, did an astonishing thing. He divided his possessions into three parts, one for the government, one for his slaves whom he freed, and the third for the sages.

Himself, he retired to a place far from his former haunts and spent all his days in study.

One day the great sage Rabbi Akiba Ben Joseph happened to look out of the window of his lecture hall and saw a rider on horseback from whose head, most remarkable thing, an aura of light shone like the sun.

"Who is that man?" asked the great teacher of his students.

"He is Nathan, the pursuer of women," they told him.

"Ah," remarked Rabbi Akiba, "would that in eternity to come I might sit beside him."

PASSING REMARKS

By A. S. WALDSTEIN

(a) *Balancing Accounts*

I REMEMBER an incident in the history of Hebrew literature. It occurred between the classic representative of Judaism and Hebrew literature, Ahad Haam, and one of the young "Stuermer und Draenger," M. J. Berdichevsky. Ahad Haam was then the editor, as he was the founder, of the "Hashiloah"—a monthly the like of which had never been published in Hebrew—as to its literary and scientific content and its modern tone.

Ahad Haam, however, narrowed down the scope of this magazine exclusively to Jewishness, barring from it any subject not pertaining to Jews or Judaism. It was against this "numerus Clausus" that the young "stuermer" stepped forward with an article entitled "Necessity and Possibility," pleading for the former versus the latter. The reply of Ahad Haam was: True—"necessities," but these can be supplied only in proportion as there are "possibilities."

Now, Ahad Haam was far from being a narrow-minded person. His education was universal and his sympathies broad. He was moved to this exclusiveness merely from the reasons of national economy. Our means are very limited and entirely out of proportion to our requirements. "Necessities" and "possibilities" cannot meet, and we are to move on the line of least resistance, which is the line of possibilities, not of necessities. In other words, if we want to get along at all,

we are to balance our national budget. This attitude Ahad Haam preserved in all his public activities, with the result that both literature and life finally played him false. In literature, his closest disciple and follower in the editing of the Hashiloah was forced to open a window into the vista of the wide world. In life, his ideas gave way before those of greater force and greater possibilities, ideas of a man who was perhaps not so great a thinker as A. H., but who had greater vision than he—Herzl.

Herzl was a man of greater vision, and as such he disregarded the multiplication table and the ready reckoner. He worked with unknown quantities, and at times it looked as if he were making the futile attempt to square the circle. But he did one great thing: he worked back from necessities, from dire, urgent necessities, to possibilities; and it was this stressing of the former, not the searching for the latter first, that gained the day and that created the Zionist movement. For it is necessities, not possibilities that are the real drive behind creativeness; it is the necessities that give wings to soar aloft and spy out undiscovered lands, while the possibilities crawl along on the ground.

(b) *Fair Play*

THE press agent of the Zionist Executive in Jerusalem neither sleeps nor slumbers. He is broadcasting throughout the Zionist press the complaint that gross injustice is done the Zionist Executive, in that no fair play is given it. Indeed, the Executive had just settled down cozily and conscientiously at the

double entry book to see that no excess of expense over income occur, when, lo and behold, along came the hungry workmen and the discharged teachers and began to vociferate about the right to labor, and to eat, and to live, and, what is more, to continue participating in the work for the cause—so much so that the ladies and gentlemen of the Executive were nearly mixed up in their additions and subtractions. Does it not sound like a revolt! The people of the Executive have come from countries where honest business and good charity management are based upon the strict balancing of the budget sheets, and here come irresponsible persons, revolutionaries, who “talk of barricades,” who would not brook “the slightest reduction in the wage scale,” and are simply bent upon upsetting the balance.

Poor press agent; He does not seem to be aware of the fact that all that Zionism has so far succeeded in creating that is worth while in Palestine, is education and the grand workmen's movement. In his innocence he is standing and wondering, how it is that having made an incision into the most vital part of the organism, the response is so quick and decisive and disconcerting. Moreover, he pretends not to know of the promises made to these very workmen at the Zionist congress—promises that have not yet been fulfilled and that may turn the tables as regards fair play.

(c) *The Dead Sea Concession*

ZIONISTS follow up the developments of the concession of the Dead Sea with great expectation, and

some see in it, big as the project is, the solution of the economic problem in Palestine.

There is a good deal of the Freudian feeling of compensation in this expectation. There is at work here the awareness of one's own impotence to effect something great in the movement—a subconscious awareness that, on the one hand, seeks to lay the whole blame for the failure in results at the door of somebody else, say, the English government, and, on the other hand, waits for a *deus ex machina* to jump out and save the situation.

The truth of the matter is, however, that in proportion to the magnitude of the undertaking there is much more reason to be concerned about it than otherwise: will it prove helpful towards solving the great Jewish labor problem in Palestine or will it merely enrich a few Jewish capitalists and prove a great national disappointment? For, not even Zionism can be a national safeguard against the employment of cheap labor in private undertakings. The case of the private colonies, where it is impossible for the Jewish workman, up to this day, to get a firm foothold, is too well known.

Instead, therefore, of hailing the concession of the Dead Sea as a panacea for all economic ills in Palestine, the Zionists should exert pressure to secure the law of a “fair wage” in this case (just as it was secured in the case of the port at Haifa) and of the employment of only Palestinian workmen, including a just proportion of Jewish workmen.

“EXPERTS” AND EXPERTS ON PALESTINE

By MOISHE RIVLIN

IN RECENT years we have been blessed with a bountiful crop of self-styled “experts,” who supply us with “information” about Palestine.

These “experts” find a ready market for their “knowledge” because of the ever increasing demand for facts about things in Palestine. Zionists and non-Zionists no longer are satisfied with the poetic reports about the beautiful, blue skies of Palestine, but want to know what is being done and accomplished on its hard, black soil.

The ones upon whom the duty of acquainting the world with conditions in Palestine as they exist would devolve are, of course, the Zionists, that is, the Zionist Organization. But the only kind of information which the Zionist Organization supplies us with is “good news.” When Palestine was, three years ago, in a relative state of prosperity, the Zionists exploited the situation to its utmost, for the purpose, of course, of getting the people in a happy frame of mind and thus making them “come across” with the shekels.

If there is prosperity, or merely a semblance of it, in Palestine; if a fairly large number of immigrants enter the country and many more clamor to get in; if there is no pronounced unemployment; if everyone in Palestine is apparently happy and satisfied—then there is good stuff for propaganda. The Zionist Organization does not say in so many words that the happy state of affairs in the Homeland is due to its

efforts and to the statesmanship of its leaders. But it tells the “glorious tale” in such a tone as to leave no doubt in the mind of the reader or listener as to whom all the credit is due.

Of course, since the end occasionally justifies the means, one is allowed to exaggerate matters a little, and some times a lot. Thus we often had Palestine painted so that our mouths watered and our hearts craved for the day when we, too, should share the glory and prosperity of a flourishing Palestine.

When things take a turn for the worse, as they have unfortunately done so often until now, partly because of this overestimation of the prosperity in Palestine, the Zionist propaganda geniuses either take a well deserved rest, or else take to minimizing matters, and tell us that the devil is not as black as “our enemies” paint him.

During the period of economic depression in Palestine, when the official Zionist propagandists are at rest, we get news about Palestine just the same and in as boisterous a voice and in as exaggerated form as usual. But this time we get the “facts” from those who are on the other side of the fence, from “our enemies.”

Three years ago we heard of five thousand immigrants entering Palestine every month; now we are told that thousands emigrate every month. In the “good years” we heard all the way from Palestine, and without the aid

of a radio, the "song of the builders of Zion"; now we hear, by the same route and with the same celerity, the "groans of the starving."

Reports of this kind, spread by such reliable sources as a Dr. Pritchett or the *Freiheit*, are miles away from the truth; but so were the glorious reports of the erstwhile years of prosperity in Palestine, which emanated from the well-oiled publicity machines of the Zionist offices. Here is where the law of compensation works out beautifully. If the Zionists exaggerate one year, the "enemies" exaggerate the next year, and may even go them one better.

If those who read reports about conditions in Palestine were discriminative enough and able to discount much of the glory in one report and even more of the woes in the other, they would be near knowing the facts as they obtain in the Homeland. Unfortunately, the average man cannot discriminate. He usually swallows everything he is told, with the result that one day he flares up with enthusiasm about "our Palestine", and the next day he tells you that "the whole thing is a fake" or, if he be more sympathetic, "What is the use, if they can't do anything there?"

What is the result of this state of confusion? The man who is not vitally interested in Palestine, who is merely a sympathetic observer, simply becomes disgusted with the whole matter and loses all interest in it. But the Jew who is a Zionist at heart and is really interested in the fate of the Homeland, is at a loss. He learns in

the course of time that he cannot rely on the "facts" which are supplied by the "professional informants" of the Zionist Organization. Hence, in his quest for more reliable information he turns inevitably to private sources.

And it is these private sources, these private "experts," who constitute the greatest danger for Palestine, as far as information about the country is concerned.

Who are these private "experts"? Kol Yisroel! Any American Jew, rabbi, physician, dentist, social worker, pants manufacturer, not to say Zionist worker, who makes a trip to Palestine, goes with the much heralded intention of "studying conditions," and no matter how brief his stay may have been he returns with a trunkfull of "facts," which are nothing short of "expert information." From the People of the Book we have evolved into a People of Experts.

When such "experts," many of whom asked before they set sail on their "expedition" how far Palestine was from Jerusalem, return, they have with them "nothing but the honest-to-goodness truth about Palestine."

On the average, these "experts" spend about ten days in Palestine, most of it in sightseeing, and, if patriotic enough, in buying souvenirs and presents for the people back home. They very seldom come in contact with the Chalutzim, except as they pass them on the roads flying by in machines. When I visited, last year, one of the Kvutzoth near Petach Tikvah I asked how many American Jews came visiting during the year. The reply was:

"They do not come here at all; the road is not so good."

As a rule, these "experts" dare not go into detail about conditions in Palestine for fear someone might give the lie to all of their tales. Hence, they take the line of least resistance and talk in generalities. They tell you that Palestine is a beautiful country, or a dusty place, all depending on the time of the year they visited the country and the places seen. If they chance to come in contact with some of the wealthier Jews of Palestine and happen to visit the more prosperous sections, they tell you with glee that "our Palestine" is "pretty well off," and that "they have there nice homes, fairly decent streets, and even ice-boxes and bath-tubs." But should fate bring them in contact with the poorer, the hard-struggling elements, they come back with the report that "It's all a waste of time and dollars. Everyone there would be glad to run away with the first boat if he had the fare."

When some of these "experts" are asked for an opinion about the advisability of investing money in an undertaking in Palestine, about which they know next to nothing, they do not hesitate to state that, based on their "investigations", they would advise no one to buy or make any investment in Palestine before seeing it.

One such "expert," a leader in Zionism, who returned recently from a short visit to Palestine (American Zionist leaders never can afford to stay too long in the country of "their dreams") was asked by a noble-hearted

Jew, who is sacrificing his time, energy and money for our Homeland (a rare example in America) about a certain colonization project for Palestine for which a fund was being raised in America. This rather wealthy Jew was ready to help in the financing of the project, which appealed very much to him, and in his blind faith in "our leaders" he turned to this leader for advice. The so-called leader hadn't the slightest conception of the project, yet he dissuaded the man from helping the undertaking because he—now he was talking as an "expert" about Palestine — did not believe that the amount of money which the promoters of the project said they would need to colonize a family was sufficient.

Another "expert," who spent a few months in Palestine, was asked by a friend of his whether he should buy some property in a certain city in Palestine. The "expert" replied: "No, don't buy until you go there." Asked for any reasons, he had none. When pressed to the wall by someone who had strongly advised the friend to buy there, the "expert" admitted that he knew absolutely nothing about the place where his friend was offered some property, that he had no conception of the real estate and building business in Palestine, and could not tell one city from another.

The Jewish press of America is rendering a noble service to the cause of Palestine by printing daily cables and frequent mail correspondences from Palestine. But this press service is hardly sufficient. For one thing, the

papers, for one reason or another, do not give us any too much news from Palestine. For another, the correspondents usually deal in generalities and in happenings that are of passing importance. Besides, unfortunately, the Jewish press reaches only a small number of those interested in Palestine.

As a result of this situation the aforementioned "experts" thrive and flourish unhampered, and do more harm to Palestine than would or could its most bitter opponents.

Is there any remedy?

The only hope of combating this evil seems to lie with the Jewish Agency, which one hopes will at last come to life in the not distant future.

The Jewish Agency started off in the right direction by appointing a committee of real experts, which spent several months last summer in Pal-

estine studying conditions. On the basis of the final report of this commission, which will be made public some day, the Agency will organize its work for Palestine. This report will give us real expert data on conditions in the Homeland and will presumably indicate the prospects, bright or poor, for further development of the country.

It is our sincere hope that the Agency will at last organize for actual constructive work in Palestine. But whatever else it does, it should maintain the services of experts, who would keep the Jewish world at large informed constantly and reliably of what is going on in the Homeland, and thus deal indirectly a death-blow to the present-day "experts."

This service alone would almost justify the existence of the Jewish Agency.

THE FISH

By B. A. BOTKIN

Man, like a fish, with lungs for gills,
Glides through space for a while and wills

To live, but somehow fears to die
As he stares at the top of his pool, the sky.

His fellows vanish in a bubble of air,
And he wonders if life goes on up there.

Yet what are fish to us on high,
Who savor their sizzling as they fry?

HOW NEW NATIONS BUILD THEIR HOMELANDS

By ZVI COHEN

A NATION'S resurrection, the redemption of its land, the re-establishment of its speech, and the resumption of its interrupted existence are no longer exceptional phenomena in this day and age. After the great war several European nationalities have gone through this experience. Ireland has established herself as a State after seven hundred years of strife. After one hundred and fifty years of exile, the Poles, whose country had undergone a series of severe trials, one of the most outstanding of which was the final partition of their soil into three entities, reunited these three sundered parts into a recreated nation. Czechoslovakia whose entire history consists of an epic struggle for freedom, and the lands fringing the Baltic,—Latvia, Esthonia, Finland, and Lithuania,—all countries which enjoyed respite from oppression during short periods only, and whose age-long dream had been self-determination, are now free and have attained nationhood.

How did they create their States? What means did they employ to establish the use of their speech? What funds did they create for the attainment of their end?

The nation whose history most resembles our own is Poland. The Poles, like us, could never reconcile themselves to the idea that their freedom was lost forever. The Polish revolt of 1831, under the leadership of General Chlopicki, had several points in common with the uprisings of our

Bar Koch'ba (and similarly, a chronological order as well, for the Polish revolt occurred 36 years after the destruction of Polish national unity, precisely the same time which elapsed between the destruction of our Second Temple and the revolution of Bar-Koch'ba). The Polish nation bewailed her fate during the entire period of her oppression. Her ablest children, her most gifted poets, Mickiewicz, Slowacki, Krasinski, Kasperowicz and Wyspianski hemoaned the national calamity in their works. Poland looked forward to a day when she would loosen the foreign bonds, and reconquer her lost nationhood. "Jeszcze Polska nie zginela" ("Not yet is Poland lost") was the song which every Pole, man, woman, and child, earnestly sang. And when the time came, in November, 1918, Poland gained her independence. However, Poland did not possess the wherewithal to sail her ship of state; her coffers were empty. What did she do under the circumstances? She proceeded to create a Polish National Fund (skarbnarodowy).

The Polish nation's response was immediate and effectual; money flowed into the National Fund in enormous quantities. Some gave more, others less, but the entire nation answered the call with love and devotion. It is, therefore, not surprising that within the short period of four years the Polish National Fund collected an amount in excess of 70,000,000 zlotys (\$14,000,000). Furthermore, the Polish

nation, in reply to the Government's summons, subscribed to a Polish National Loan to the extent of a billion zlotys (\$200,000,000).

The Czechs, also, won their freedom in November, 1918. This nation had as a basis for the operation of her new administration an amount of 35 billion kronen, which circulated within her territory at the time. The Czechoslovaks stamped that currency with the Czecho-Slovakian national seal, so as to distinguish it from the other kronen which were flooding the market at the time. Czecho-Slovakia also created a National Fund to aid her Government Exchequer. The nation, however, did not feel that this was a pressing need, and only subscribed \$1,000,000. Czecho-Slovakia's situation, from the very start, was better than that of Poland. She had no wars with her neighbors. Furthermore, Czecho-Slovakia had always done a great export trade, her industries having been considerably developed, and the world markets not closed to her as they had been to Poland. It is evident then, that Czecho-Slovakia stood in no sore need of a large National Fund.

The Czechs have a separate National Fund, created in the name of President Masaryk, but the proceeds from this fund are not applied to the nation as a whole, but to the workers only, President Masaryk being particularly devoted to the interests of labor.

The Irish, too, had a National Fund. This was known as the revolutionary fund. The monies for this were collected in the United States, chiefly for revolutionary activities. However, as

the Irish revolt was a national affair, it may be said that these monies constituted a National Fund. The amount contributed is not known exactly. It is nevertheless thought that it amounted to several million English pounds. It is also known that many members of the Irish and English aristocracy, some openly and some secretly, donated millions to the revolutionary chest.

Let us now consider the smaller among the nations, Lithuania, the Baltic countries and Finland. These, too, established National Funds immediately after their creation, and floated National Loans. Both of these methods combined, yielded in the aforesaid countries, the sum of \$50,000,000.

All of these peoples, however, had not been driven from their hearths—they continued to occupy their native land. The soil was their soil: the dwellings, their dwellings, the cities, the villages, theirs. The railroads, bridges and highways were ready for them to take over—this is precisely what they did, and without the least expenditure. Indeed, they found everything ready to hand. The only purpose of their National Funds was to create National Treasuries; that was the end sought, as avowed by the leaders in making their appeals, and these peoples, fully alive to the necessity, responded nobly.

And we?

The land of Israel is in foreign hands. We must purchase every dunam for hard cash, and rapidly, for the prices soar skyward.

The dwellings? — we must build

them. The cities? — we must create them. The villages? — we must found them. The highways? — we must lay them.

We are to erect a new State, a Jewish State for the Jewish Nation. A Jewish National Fund has been in existence for more than twenty-five years. Yet the amount contributed up till now comes to approximately \$5,000,000, a miserly sum for twenty-five years of sustained effort throughout the camp of Jewry.

It is true that we also have the Keren Hayesod, which has collected \$10,000,000 within five years. But the Keren Hayesod does not redeem our soil. What are we doing for the redemption of our native hearth? Our National Fund is composed of petty change, and even these small coins are coaxed from us in a most miserable manner.

The other nations who have striven for freedom, even as we, and who obtained it at the close of the World War—are shaming the Jewish Nation.

Gleanings and Comments

The Timorous Souls

FOR a whole week we had been under the pleasant impression that the *New Palestine*, the mouthpiece of the administration Zionists in this country, had at last permitted the more human side to break through its crust of official callousness in dealing with Jewish labor in Palestine and was on the road to a more enlightened policy. In its issue of January 13th, it devotes a few guarded remarks to the outrage in Petach-Tikvah where Jewish working men and women had been brutally assaulted by British and Arab police at the behest of Jewish plutocrats, and, with obviously restrained indignation, laments the atrocity in the following words:

"It is unfortunate that trouble should have arisen in the colony of Petach-Tikvah. An earnest effort should have been made to avoid a clash. The dispute should have been referred to arbiters. The press gives the impression that this was a conflict between Jewish and Arab labor. It was nothing of the sort. The provocative situation in Petach-Tikvah was created by the Jewish colonists, who employ labor in their plantations. There are about four thousand Jewish workmen out of employment who are still receiving the dole from the Keren Hayesod. Consideration should have been given by Jewish employers to this fact. The Petach Tikvah colonists made a contract for the work with an Arab contractor, who gave exclusive consideration to Arab workmen. This is a recurrence of a state of affairs which was thought to have been eliminated from Jewish life in Palestine. During the past few years, due to the efforts of Mr. Sprinzak of the Palestine Zionist Executive, over five thousand Jewish workmen were settled in the

<p style="text-align: center;">UNSER CAMP of the JEWISH NATIONAL WORKERS' ALLIANCE Re-Union and Masquerade Ball and Carnival SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1928 From six in the morning till the milkman comes. — at — Central Opera House 67th Street and 3rd Avenue ADMISSION 50 CENTS</p>

vicinity of the Judaeen colonies. They were given occasional employment by the Jewish colonists, and had small gardens of their own which they cultivated. The fact that the old Judaeen colonies had given this evidence of their interest in Jewish labor was everywhere regarded as an effective demonstration of the moral power of the Zionist Organization. The promise contained in this policy has been marred by the stubborn behavior of the colonists of Petach-Tikvah."

While that is not the kind of comment the bloody affair calls for, it was about the best we could expect from people whose apparent sole purpose in life is to gloss over anything and everything happening in Zionism or Palestine which, in their frightened opinion, might "harm the cause."

But, alas! our pleasant impression proved too short-lived. The mild outbreak of something like human passion in the above editorial must have thrown a scare into the Zionist powers that be, and they beat a hasty retreat in the subsequent issue, that of January 20th.

In that issue there is a very good and very strong article by Gershon Agronsky, official Zionist correspondent in Palestine. Familiar with conditions and all the circumstances surrounding and leading up to the atrocity, Mr. Agronsky cannot repress his sentiments and tells the story as it should be told. He calls the brutal exploiters by the name which, in the Jewish mouth, stands for the worst possible type of ruthless domination, "Jewish *Effendis* of Petach-Tikvah."

The truth is, however, too much for the *New Palestine*, and an editorial note is appended to the article designed

to counteract the likely impression on the reader. It says:

"The Palestine correspondent of *The New Palestine* has here told a vivid story of the clash in Petach-Tikvah on December 16, 1927, when Jewish workers protested against the attitude of certain Jewish orange growers who refused to employ Jewish labor in their orange groves. Mr. Agronsky's censure of the growers is a severe indictment, but it is possible that the nearness to the scene of action has influenced his view of the incident. The attitude which he describes, if actual, is bound to change with a proper view of the Petach-Tikvah incident."

Note the words, "if actual" and the pious hope in the concluding sentence, "The attitude which he describes, if actual, is bound to change with a proper view of the Petach-Tikvah incident."

Defenseless men and women were struck down, trampled upon, beaten into unconsciousness and then dragged, bleeding and torn, to prison,—all because they dared expect to work on plantations of Jews who had become rich by the generosity of a whole people, and the *New Palestine* designates it with the non-committal term "incident" and rushes to assure us that things will yet right themselves.

The desire to cover up and explain away the heinous crime of the Jewish effendis is only an additional proof of how uncertain the present American Zionist leadership feels in the saddle. They know that they can stay on only if everything goes right and they are doing their very best to make believe that there is nothing wrong anywhere in or out of Zion.

Juvenile Omniscience

THE *Menorah Journal*, now published monthly, gives the impression of wishing to be as well-informed as scientific and as impartial as knowledge will permit and the exigencies of the moment will warrant. That is very encouraging in serious-minded young men intent on bringing light into Jewish life, and we hope they will prove capable teachers—and willing students. They will then probably learn that there is more than political and economic needs to Jewish problems abroad and a great deal more than religion to Jewish life in this country.

We cannot, however, let pass unnoticed a review which has all the earmarks of juvenile omniscience. We refer to the display of knowledge by Mr. William Schack, in the January issue, at the expense of Dr. A. S. Waldstein's book, *Modern Palestine*.

Having been in the Jewish Homeland almost a year, the reviewer is of course fully equipped to expose the ignorance of the author who had spent in Palestine a mere 13 years. Dubbing the book "A Primer of Propaganda", Mr. Schack proceeds to tear it to pieces and, among other things, has the following to throw into the very face of the writer:

"In a book fresh off the press, one looks for comment on certain developments of recent date, such as the enactment of the Jewish Community Ordinance (for which the author clamors) and the demise of Solel-Boneh and Hamashbir—both rightly made much of, though inadequately, by Mr. Waldstein."

Even if we did not know that Waldstein's book was written and published prior to the promulgation of the Com-

munity Ordinance, we should find it queer on his part to "clamor" for something that had already been granted. We fail to fathom the logic of assuming that the author both knew of the enactment and "clamored" for it. But what is still worse is the matter-of-fact statement by the learned critics that the Solel-Boneh and the *Mashbir* are dead.

Well, there may be room for differences of opinion as to the "demise" of the Solel-Boneh. As far as our information goes, the Solel-Boneh is not among the dead yet; it merely suffers because of the refusal of the new Zionist Executive to honor the pledges of the old. But as to Hamashbir, it is stronger than ever, and as far from demise as the reviewer is from Palestine.

Vagaries of a News Agency

THE Jewish Telegraphic Agency is a very useful source of information, and is given the credit it deserves for gathering and distributing Jewish news, but it appears that occasionally it is carried away by a desire for the sensational, rather than the true.

It is regrettable that with regard to the Petach-Tikvah outrage, the agency should have slipped and broadcast apparently its own interpretation of the affair, placing Jewish labor of Palestine in an unfavorable light.

The Palestine Worker's Fund bulletin No. 72, January 5, has the following to say with regard to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency:

"The Palestine Press has upon several occasions called attention to the carelessness and unreliable manner in which

the J. T. A. supplies the news from Palestine. The latest occurrence in Petach-Tikvah can serve as a classic instance thereof.

"The Jewish Press all over the world carried a cable on the 18th of December, telling of a *strike* of Jewish workers in Petach-Tikvah, which resulted in a conflict with the police when *Jewish workers sought to prevent Arab strike-breakers from entering the orange groves*. Now, the truth is that there was no strike. The respective colonists refused to employ Jewish labor, and a campaign had been carried on against them for weeks and months, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency alone apparently being unaware of it.

"The J. T. A. representative in Jerusalem informs us that in his cable to the London bureau of the J. T. A. there was no mention of a strike; but that as communications are recast in London, and then forwarded to the various countries, where the newspapers again trim the news to fit their taste, somehow on this long road the facts became distorted. Two days later, the Jewish Press carried another J. T. A. cable from Palestine, dated December 20, wherein it was stated that the workers had seized and held the Town Hall; that it took a special detachment of British police to dislodge them. . .

"This story is nothing but the product of somebody's fancy in one of the J. T. A. news factories. There is not a particle of truth in this news item. What did happen was that the sight of 14 workers wounded and 17 arrested provoked a group of Petach-Tikvah residents, who could not repress their indignation and pain and rushed into the Administration house, broke a few tables and tore some papers. As soon as the Labor Council was advised of the disturbance, representatives were dispatched, and they put an end to the demonstration. The British police took over the Administration house the following day. No workers were in the building, and none ever dreamt of seizing it. The J. T. A., however, is thirsty for sensations, and is ready to

manufacture them. Its Palestine representative states that he never sent this cable at all, and that the news was concocted in one of the J. T. A. bureaus."

Gauging Assurances

WHEREAS Mr. Marshall was elated, in his recently acquired humility, at the assurances to the Jews given by the Rumanian Minister at Washington on the last day of the first week in the opening month of the new year, and the Congressman from New York, Dr. William I. Sirovich, was taken somewhat aback and appears to have been left bewildered by the turn of events, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, president of the American Jewish Congress, and courageous defender of his people's rights and honor, put the true interpretation on Mr. Cretziano's statement, in the following words, quoted from the Jewish Daily Bulletin of January the 12th:

"I welcome the change in tone in the communication of the Rumanian Minister from his utterances made on a similar sad occasion about a year ago, and in a certain public statement issued as recently as December 7th, when he commented quite differently on the findings of an eminent Christian Deputation which last summer surveyed conditions affecting the life of the minorities in Rumania.

"My associates in the American Jewish Congress and myself, who have been endeavoring to focus public attention on the wrongs inflicted upon these minorities, in violation of treaty guarantees and repeated public pledges, most earnestly hope that the promises now made will not share the fate of assurances given on previous occasions, when hopes held out were most cruelly shattered and we were left weary and heartsick and almost bereft of faith in human fellowship.

"We welcome friendly words but in the face of calamitous conditions, crying to heaven for redress, we must ask for acts and deeds,—we must demand a completely different attitude on the part of the Rumanian Government, a new policy which will bring real relief to all the persecuted minorities and which in the end can have no other result than that of increasing the welfare and prestige of the whole of Rumania."

We are glad to quote another gentleman who knows where he is about and who is more than any other in close touch with affairs in Rumania,—Mr. Leo Wolfson, president of the United Rumanian Jews of America. His full statement, of which we received a copy, follows:

"All statements of Rumanian officials, made for foreign consumption, read well and make the intended good impression. So does Mr. Cretziano's letter addressed to the American public in care of Congressman Sirovich. It is true to Rumanian diplomatic form, in substance, letter and spirit.

"I am familiar with the language he uses in his letter. I have heard it from the mouths of Rumanian Ministers and read it in official statements which they have issued. It is a familiar pattern. It usually begins with a qualified admission that some 'regrettable' or 'shameful incidents' have taken place of which the Jews have been the victims, and then unctuously thanks the Lord that no one was killed. Then it charges some students with the commission of the acts which, of course, the government does not approve of. Then follows the assurance that measures have been taken to punish the offenders, and the promise that the government will see to it that such things do not occur again.

"Statements to this effect have been repeatedly made to the world at large since 1922, when the atrocities against the Jews commenced so violently and have been allowed to continue to this day.

"Of course, I agree with the generalities which the Minister states in his letter. Har-

mony should be established between the Jews and the other citizens of Rumania, and that it should be done by the government without any interference. But the governments thus far have failed to do it. The Minister is grievously mistaken if he believes that American Jewry desires to interfere in internal Rumanian affairs. It is forced to take notice of the conditions which the governments have allowed and tolerated, and our sense of justice revolts in us when we read of what is taking place there. When it comes to his statement of the facts, I must disagree with him. He covers them, qualifies them, excuses them, and attempts to make them almost of no importance. It is well that the Minister should know that we know what happened at Oradea-Mare, Cluj, Targu Ocna, Iasi, and other cities. I can give him the details from Rumanian newspapers. They are horrible. I refuse to accept the defense that the government was taken unawares and had no time to prepare. I make the charge that the government knew that the students were playing their old tricks on the way to Oradea-Mare and that it should have taken the necessary measures to prevent the catastrophe. It did not do its duty and should be held responsible.

"What I resent in the letter is the attempt to place the entire unfortunate matter upon a basis which is far from the real truth.

"I admit that the government has taken some measures to punish the offenders; but, while some students have been sentenced, most of those who have been arrested have been freed, as heretofore. Some indemnities for the devastated synagogues have been made and promised, but the damages of the great masses of Jews who have suffered in the recent excesses and riots have been given little, if any consideration.

"The direct promise which the Minister makes on behalf of the government about the future should be received by the American people with a feeling of 'watchful waiting.' Let us hope that they will be glad to help to bring about the desired understanding between Jew and Gentile in Rumania. We are not satisfied with promises, we want action, and just action, nothing less will satisfy us."

THE PETACH-TIKVAH OUTRAGE

Memorandum of the Palestine Labor Federation to the British Labor Party:

Tel-Aviv, December 22nd, 1927

Dear Comrades:

We beg to confirm our cable of the 18th inst., which read:

"While grave unemployment Petach-Tikvah hundreds unorganized Arab workers were brought from outside for orange gathering. Local unemployed gathered yesterday near orange groves peacefully demanded minimum part work. After ordering dispersal police brutally attacked workers by order Jaffa Governor Miller present. Gravely wounded five women, nine men, local Union Secretary, 16 workers arrested. Your immediate intervention appreciated. Detailed letter follows."

We now write to give you a more detailed account of the events.

Petach-Tikvah is the largest Jewish colony in Palestine, with a population of about 6,500. It is predominantly a plantation colony, including a considerable and steadily expanding area of orange groves. It is also the richest Jewish settlement in the country, oranges being practically the most profitable investment here. Petach-Tikva employs 2000-3000 labourers through the year. A part of the work is done by Arabs, who come here from time to time from the neighbouring villages. The bulk of these are not wage earners in the proper sense of the term, but fellaheen, for whom work with Jewish farmers is a source of an incidental by-income, additional to the regular receipts of their own holdings. They therefore rest content with a low rate of remuneration. As against this, the resident Jewish workers—about 1600—depend wholly for their existence upon the wages they get for work done in the orange groves and elsewhere in the colony. Eighty per cent of them belong to the Agricultural Workers' Union, forming part of the General Federation of Labour.

For the last three months unemployment has been on the increase among the local Jewish labourers. This coincided exactly with the season of plentiful employment—

the gathering of the fruit—which goes on for 4-5 months from November till February and absorbs up to 1500 workers. The reason was the introduction of outside Arab labour, from villages near and far, even from Transjordan. The fact is that the gathering process in most orange groves is not conducted by the owners, but by orange merchants—as a rule Arab townsmen—who buy the fruit whilst it is on the tree and gather it on their own account. These merchants have brought into the colony unorganized Arab labourers, with a large percentage of women and children, while 600-700 local workers have been thrown out of work. In view of the general unemployment in the country, these people stand no chance of getting work elsewhere. Wages in agriculture are so low—the maximum daily wage being 3s. 6d.—that no margin is left for saving, to tide the labourer over seasons of unemployment. The enforced idleness thus spells for these men immediate starvation.

Foreseeing such a contingency, the Petach-Tikvah Workers' Council approached the orange grove owners a few months ago, requesting them to insert in the contracts with the fruit merchants a provision for the employment of local labour in the gathering of oranges. Most owners, however, oppose the existence in the colony of a permanently settled and organized body of labour, and their committee not only withheld all assistance from the labourers in this regard, but even thwarted the possibility of a direct agreement between them and the merchants. The work of the fruit-gathering was thus commenced with a mass of outside Arab labour.

The local unemployed could not, naturally, acquiesce in the state of starvation into which they were plunged at a time when there was so much work to be done in the colony. But their repeated representations to the Owners' Committee and to the public institutions of the colony for a fair share in the gathering work remained fruitless. The Owners' Committee gave some vague promises which were

never carried into effect. Even the remonstrances of the Zionist Executive and the National Jewish Council of Palestine were of no avail.

As a protest against this callousness a demonstration broke out on Sunday, December 4. A thousand workers marched through the streets of Petach-Tikvah to the Town Hall, shouting: "Work and bread for the unemployed." In spite of the great indignation prevalent, the demonstration was perfectly peaceful and led to no violent excesses, the workers dispersing in an orderly fashion at the request of the Petach-Tikvah Workers' Council, after a promise given by the Mayor to see to it tomorrow that the unemployed be given a fair share in the gathering work.

This demonstration made a great impression on the general population of Petach-Tikvah by laying bare the suffering of the unemployed and at the same time demonstrating the force of endurance and the internal discipline of the workers. But the promise of the Mayor was not fulfilled this time either. Only a few owners negotiated with the buyers of their fruit in regard to employing local labour and reached a satisfactory arrangement for all concerned. These separate agreements only served to prove that with a good will on the part of the owners, an understanding with the Arab merchants would present no insurmountable difficulty, the fact being that under present conditions there is no marked difference between the two categories of labour.

Meanwhile, the gathering work went on on an increasing scale, local labourers being left in the cold. At length their patience was exhausted, and on Thursday, December 15, pickets of the unemployed took position at the gates of several orange groves, peacefully persuading the labourers from outside not to work on jobs which, in right, should go to the local men. They requested them not to start work until the owners and merchants agree to employ 50 per cent local labour and 50 per cent labourers from outside. The outsiders complied with this request and did not go to work. No clash or disturbance of any kind occurred through that day.

On the following morning, however, when picketing was resumed in the same peaceful manner, there appeared before the pickets the

Assistant District Commissioner of Jaffa, Mr. Miller, accompanied by policemen. The Secretary of the Petach-Tikvah Workers' Council, I. Idelson, who asked if this was how the Government responded to the call of the unemployed, was immediately arrested, together with another comrade who stood next to him. Five more workers were arbitrarily arrested near another orange grove. The workers' representative suggested to Mr. Miller to stop the arrests and to enter, instead of this, into negotiations with the merchants and the workers with a view to affecting a settlement. Mr. Miller, however, refused to do so. Accompanied by a British police officer, a British policeman and eight Arab policemen on horseback, he went to a third orange grove where a picket stood, sent in a group of Arab labourers, without the slightest resistance being shown by the pickets, called upon the latter to disperse; and when this was not done, ordered the policemen to use force. The representative of the workers on the spot, Mr. Barski, asked Mr. Miller for a delay of a few minutes, so as to allow an explanation, but the Assistant District Commissioner would not listen to this. Then the Arab policemen (the British officer and man took no part in the beating) attacked savagely the picket consisting of men and women, trampled upon them with their horses' hoofs, beat them with their batons till they bled profusely, inflicting wounds in the head, back and abdomen, not stopping even from beating those who ran away, as witnessed by the serious wounds in the back. Altogether fourteen persons were wounded, including five girls. Four of them had immediately to be taken to a hospital at Jaffa. The road from the orange grove to the colony was stained with blood. In addition to those arrested previously, more workers were imprisoned, bringing the total up to seventeen, including three girls. All the arrested were brought in chains like criminals to the Jaffa prison, where they have remained to this day. No judicial inquiry or investigation has taken place so far nor have the imprisoned been told what they are accused of.

This bloody intervention of the authorities to assist the reactionary plantation owners in disregarding the just claims of the unem-

ployed and in combating organised labour, the cruel beating and arbitrary detentions, have aroused an unprecedented storm of excitement and indignation in Petach-Tikvah. The sight of workers being led through the streets in chains, while others, men and women, were carried bleeding, lashed the crowd into fury. People broke with angry cries into the Town Hall, and there was fear of a disturbance, if not for the determined action of the officials of the Workers' Council, who used their utmost exertion to keep the infuriated crowd within bounds of discipline.

The Government, who by their action created the crisis, sent now "to preserve law and order" scores of British and Palestinian policemen, who occupied the Town Hall, fortified it with barbed wire and sand bags and produced a state of panic in the colony, as if civil war was impending. As the excitement subsided they did not fail to make themselves ridiculous by the absurd precautions they had been ordered to take.

The brutality of the police created in the whole country and among all classes of the population a wave of indignation and protest. Such general institutions as the Municipal Council of Tel-Aviv and the Committee of the Jewish Community in Jerusalem unanimously passed resolutions protesting against the action of the police and the orange grove owners who caused it. The head of the neighbouring plantation colony, Magdiel, sent to the Petach-Tikvah Workers' Council a donation and message of sympathy. In Petach-Tikvah itself the Women's Society, the Teachers' Union and many orange grove owners of a progressive trend issued statements of protest against the police and the reactionaries and disassociated themselves from the shameful acts which had taken place in their colony. From all parts protest resolutions against the police and the Owners' Committee are still pouring in. All Labour Parties, Unions and Workers' Councils expressed their solidarity with the P. T. workers in general and with their imprisoned comrades in particular. The majority of the Jewish Community in Palestine calls upon the Government to release the prisoners and to stop strengthening the hands of those who are out to starve the unemployed workers. The only way to

restore order, it is pointed out to the Government, is to see that the unemployed get their share in the work that is there.

Our protests coupled with the protests of the whole Jewish Community have so far been in vain. The prisoners have not been released, nor the claim for work — the validity of which was admitted by the High Commissioner, the District Commissioner of Jaffa and other high officials — has not been satisfied. We, therefore, apply to you to assist us in this struggle by using pressure with the Government and enlightening public opinion on the subject. The notorious brutality of the Palestine police, led by British officers, in relation to workers has been demonstrated on many occasions past as well as on the last one. It is one of the things that do incalculable damage to Britain's good name in Palestine and we are sure that you would be interested to use your influence in order to put an end to such a disgraceful handling of economic disputes. We also ask you to request the release of the prisoners and to take such action as would suggest to the Government that it is not the business of their officials here to exasperate the unemployed by playing in the hand of the local reactionaries.

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DOWN - S T R E A M

By MENDEL G. GLENN

SINKING I began, lower and deeper did I sink; I wanted to flee, to run away from myself and from the world—and then I found *her* again.

It was night. A night when one's soul is torn by its own agonies, when one's heart is about to burst with anger, grief, humiliation, and . . . a night when one's entire *being* is turned into one gigantic curse to be hurled upon the whole world. Upon such a night I found her.

Thus it happened:

We, a friend of mine and I, were streaming along with the multitudes that crowded from the theatres before midnight. Both of us—men who, somehow, lost their hold on life, and from beneath whose feet the earth has as if melted away, and who stand over a gaping chasm, an infinite, dark abyss. . . . The piece just seen at the theatre stirred up hidden emotions in our hearts and awakened stifled, pent-up passions.

But we were alone, companionless—we had no families, no homes. Lonely and forsaken, gropingly we felt in the darkness. . . . Yet life called to life—we were still young!

Streaming down, down I dragged everything behind me. . . .

We were sitting in a restaurant. All about us happiness and joy of life. Through the smoke-clouds of the cigarettes we could discern distinctly the faces of the others. Sparks of impassionate love from the eyes of one flashed into the eyes of the other.

But we were *talking* about life. . . .

And then:

They were sitting in front of us, drank and smoked. One looked so familiar to me. Where could I have seen her?—I did not care. What difference did it make? There she was sitting near me and drinking. . . .

We were soon in the street again. Night swallowed us up, bought love enraptured us. . . .

In the morning, sober and clear-headed, I beheld her near me and I recognized her. It was she.

I uttered a cry of amazement and anguish: "You—here!"

And she: "Me, what of it? Such is life. You looked for me, wanted me, so you had me!"

I thought it was but a dream, a hallucination, but in a flash all became clear to me.

"How long is it since—?"

She did not let me finish, interrupting me:

"What's the difference?—It's all the same now. But you want to know all, don't you? Well, here it is:

"How long is it since that time? Let's see—ten years! All is so simple. I married the rich man. My fault. Perhaps yours, too. You ought not to have left the city. But I never loved him. The world around me was so strange, so cold, terrible. . . . I was alone: no real friend. . . . Then came he—he was my husband's friend—handsome, flattering and sympathetic. . . . I fell. (Of course, I know

now that it was all plotted by my husband who wanted to get rid of me.) Then I returned to the all-swallowing-up city. Having become used to rich life, I had to go on. . . . So, there you are! Instead of having one to pay me for not loving him, I have many who pay me for not loving them. . . .

"And you too, fell, and of all women—you picked on me!"

I left. I ran away and cursed the world and myself.

WITH OUR FRIENDS

By THE EDITOR

WE have been too busy setting things in order,—for the interests of our readers and the convenience of the office,—and have had no time to talk to our friends. But what has kept so many of our friends from writing to us, we are unable to explain.

* * *

We appreciate the high compliment of silence which is presumed to indicate agreement, as the Hebrew saying has it, but we admit that we expected, and still do, a more tangible expression of goodwill.

* * *

THE VANGUARD has made a good name for itself, and we are told on all hands that the magazine is a real necessity for our movement. That's very flattering,—and dangerous if it leads our friends to believe that the magazine will pull by its own force alone.

One good man writes us that "while I have thoroughly enjoyed the copy of THE VANGUARD you were kind enough to send me, I regret that, inasmuch as my home is veritably cluttered up with so many periodicals, I will be unable to enter my subscription with you." Dear me, we never suspected there were so many magazines competing for the attention of this gentleman, but we are grateful for having been singled out of the clutter and read, and, particularly, for being spared the trouble of pestering him with bills.

* * *

We have more regard for such men than the kind of friends who are willing to receive the magazine and keep the money, too.

* * *

Dr. Simon Berlin, D.D.S., of New York, writes us: "I gladly enclose check for a year's subscription to THE VANGUARD. I do wish you success. Your magazine has the stimulating effect of a fresh breeze in a humid atmosphere."

* * *

The Borochoy Branch of the Jewish National Workers' Alliance has sent in \$12 for five copies monthly. That is what we call taking a real interest in The Vanguard. Who follows?

* * *

Berkenblitt and Borden, two good Brooklynites, have each subscribed for five of their friends. An excellent way of widening The Vanguard's influence. We recommend it to all our well-wishers.

THE ZIONIST LABOR PARTY—HITACHDUTH

By ABRAHAM SPIERER

The seventh annual convention of the Zeire-Zion, held these days at Philadelphia, brings to the fore this Zionist Labor Party, and it will be of interest to our readers to know what it is and what it stands for.—*Editor.*

AS its name suggests, this party of the left wing in the world Zionist Organization grew out of the amalgamation of two parallel movements, the Hapoel Hazoir and Zeire Zion, started almost simultaneously in Palestine and Russia.

During the period following Russia's war with Japan and the crushing of the revolution which resulted in disillusionment for many of the revolutionary youth, Palestine presented itself as the only safe haven. There they went to forget and to start a new life. Their foremost thought was to keep out of "foreign entanglements" and foreign theories, Palestinian realities of life were to be their only guidance.

Unassuming was that first meeting held in a barn-yard in Petach-Tikvah, attended by a dozen or two enthusiasts, inspired by the loftiest Zionist ideals. A group was founded known as the Hahoresch, which was the forerunner of the Hapoel Hazoir. True to their convictions, they refrained from propounding new party tenets and platforms, but pronounced one single slogan: "*Kiboosh Haavodah*, conquest of work. It was the real problem in those days. Colonies were founded by the Baron de Rothschild, by the Biloo and Choveve Zion and the colonists

thought to have fulfilled their mission by *owning* the land, the actual *labor* being done by native Arabs. But these enthusiasts thought differently, namely that not merely *land-ownership*, but actual *work* on it could give the Jews claim and title to Palestine. With stubbornness and vigor they set out to do it. The final chapters of that captivating slogan are not yet written, the struggle for the right and ability of Jews to work is still on; only recently a bloody page was added by the happenings in the same Petach-Tikvah, written with the clubs of the British constabulary on the flesh of the Jewish girls and boys clamoring for the "right to work."

Soon the Jewish National Fund entered the field of active colonization. It acquired a tract of land near the spot where the Jordan flows from the lake of Kinereth. The question of method arose. Continuation of the old-style colonization, creating a landlord-class thriving on peon labor was unthinkable. Previous experiments with a collectivist group according to the plans of Professor Oppenheimer, resulted in failure, and so they embarked upon a new experiment—the *Kvutzah*. A group based on communist principles was formed—Dgania (from the Arab Oom-Junee, mother of grain) which pointed the way to a ramified and varied *Kvutzah*-movement and introduced a new method of colonization during the last two decades.

Almost at the same time, a movement sprang up in Russia called the Zeire Zion. Originally it was intended as an opposition to the 'Baal Habatish' spirit of the older Zionist generation, complacent and satisfied with its romantic longing for Palestine. Youth was craving for deeds. On the other hand, it disagreed with the other National Socialist parties in that it placed active nationalism above all, fighting not only for the laboring classes, but for the large masses of the people, as well. At the Vienna Zionist Congress, it made its first organized showing quite naturally allied with the Hapoel Hazair. With the time this movement underwent changes, grew, differentiated and split up, in the true Russian style. The left wing, however, leaned more and more toward the Poale-Zion, with whom it united two years ago; the right wing held on to its traditions.

The World War broke out and brought untold hardships upon mankind. Palestine had its full share of it. Under the reign of terror, of the cruel and blood-thirsty Gemal-Pasha, in the period of the so-called 'moratorium', the workers suffered most, yet undimmed was their enthusiasm. When there came a ray of hope in the form of the British conquest and the Balfour Declaration, the workers were the first to awaken to the possibilities of the moment. Their rallying cry was: wide open doors for new Olim (immigrants)!

The Zionist leadership was not prepared to translate the *words* of the declaration into *deeds*. Its Secretary, Mr. Landman, went on his ill-famed

errand to 'stop immigration'. And this at the time of the biggest inflation of Zionist hopes! The Hapoel Hazair decided to step out of its isolation (called Shlilath Hagaluth, meaning negation of the Diaspora) and go to the Galuth for allies. Prague saw the first conference, dominated by the big spirit in the frail body of that grand old man, A. D. Gordon.

The result was the Hitachduth, which rose steadily in influence. Zionist Congresses had to reckon with it and up to the last Congress it had one of its distinguished members, Mr. Sprinzak, in the 'official family' of Dr. Weizman. Its branches are scattered all over the globe—the most recent being Cuba.

The aims and principles of the Hitachduth were laid down at a conference in Berlin. It was defined as the Zionist Labor Party, embracing all those "who live on the proceeds of the toil of their own hands without exploiting somebody else's toil," and endeavoring to create a "free laboring community," on the basis of a rejuvenated Hebrew culture. As a labor party, it was, and still is, confronted with the problem of its attitude towards Socialism; it took, however, the constructive end of it, believing that it is far easier, taking into account the specific structure of Palestine and Jewry the world over, to attain the ultimate goal of socialism through building up a nucleus of the future community in Palestine than by the destructive means of class-struggle and the like. These and other kindred matters prevent it, for the time being, from uniting with the Poale-Zion here

THE ZIONIST LABOR PARTY—HITACHDUTH

and in Palestine, a thing desirable in itself, but difficult to effect. Yet it may be stated here that indirectly, through the Histadruth (Workers' Organization in Palestine) it maintains relations with the Trade Union International in Amsterdam, and also with the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations.

The American branch of the Hitachduth came into being seven years ago, in the twilight period of the fall of the Brandeis group and the birth of the Keren Hayesod. The original founders left it as soon as it began to show true Hitachduth symptoms, or as soon as they found for themselves warm places in the new administration. Many faithful Hitachduth members from Europe and Palestine filled its ranks here. It fought steadfastly for a "place in the sun" and only slowly gained recognition from its Zionist and National Socialist neighbors. Today it is an established party with a notable record of achievements both for Palestine and America. Its publication, the "Farn Folk," with Chaim Greenberg as editor, is regarded as one of the best Zionist periodicals. The party plays an important part in exerting influence upon the policies of the Jewish National Fund, as well as of the National Labor Campaign, contributing to both of them substantial sums of money.

A surprise to both friends and enemies has been their part in the never held "elections" to the last Congress, as well as to the number of five delegates,

including one from Canada, sent by it to the Congress.

Worth while mentioning is the cultural work done by the Hitachduth in this country. Under the leadership of Chaim Greenberg that work has steadily developed, and is almost unique in our nationalistic circles.

With the shutting of the doors to immigration by the United States, the Hitachduth is cut off from its reservoir; and is forced to turn about-face towards American-born and American-bred youth, which means overhauling the machinery and revising its policies accordingly.

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BRIEF NEWS FROM THE HOMELAND

Compiled by M. R.

Three hundred and thirty new rooms and fifty new stores were built in Tel Aviv in 1927.

One hundred men are now employed in the construction of the Hebrew Teachers' Seminary in Beth Hakerem, Jerusalem, the money for which was raised in America.

The League of Nations will help seven hundred and fifty homeless Jews now stranded in Constantinople to settle in Palestine.

The Municipality of Tel Aviv recently paid \$12,500 on the amortization of its bonds floated several years ago in America.

Messrs. Sufrasky, Rosenblatt and Gesundeit took over from a group of Arabs the concession on the hot baths of Tiberias. The new company is obligated to build modern bath-houses within three years. The company intends to spend two hundred thousand dollars during that period. It also has purchased a large tract of land near Tiberias for the erection of a chain of modern hotels and will thus develop Tiberias into a great health and winter resort center.

The Municipality of Tel Aviv is employing in its various departments sixty-eight men and women. The highest salary paid by the government to its officials, that of the mayor, is \$110 a month.

The Government of Palestine began the construction of the new road from Haifa to Zichron Jacob. This road will soon be extended to Tel Aviv.

The Government of Palestine spent during the nine months from April 1st to December 31, 1927, the sum of \$9,619,665.

The money was spent as follows: Police and prisons 22.44 per cent; railroads, 11.89 per cent; emergency public works, 10.89 per cent; education, 8.60 per cent; health, 4.15 per cent (or \$399,505, while \$500,000 was spent in the same period by the Hadassah); colonization, 2.72 per cent; and the rest on various departments each of which absorbed less than one per cent of the government budget.

The orange box factory in Hedera has reopened and is now employing twenty men. It is expected that the factory will be able to take in thirty more men in the next few weeks. According to an agreement between the employer and the local union, the men receive one dollar for an eight hour day and the women, 62 cents.

The Silberberg box factory in Tel Aviv has reopened with a force of one hundred employes. The factory is strictly unionized.

Lieber's chocolate factory in Tel Aviv has engaged another twenty men, making the total, 210 employes.

At the request of Lord Plumer, the Government of Egypt reduced the tariff on Palestinian tobacco from five to four dollars on the kilo. This will help much the tobacco planters in Palestine whose only market now is Egypt. The lower tariff will enable them to compete with the tobacco from Syria and Turkey.

TEN BOOKS
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SOME REVIEWS

The Companionate Marriage. By Judge B. Lindsey and Wainwright Evans. Boni & Liveright. 1927.

If Judge Lindsey had stated that he advocated divorce by mutual consent, abolition of alimony, and legalization of birth control for childless couples he would probably have been howled down just as lustily by tradition-bound folks, but he would have made it easier for open-minded people to follow him. He chose, however, to label his reform "Companionate Marriage" and he got himself and his views entangled in a maze of notions which may prove an insurmountable obstacle in the way of his "movement".

Companionate marriage is the same old sort of legal union as we are accustomed to. It is not trial marriage or free union, let alone free love. In the words of the author—or authors—"Companionate marriage is legal marriage, with legalized birth control, and the right to divorce by mutual consent for childless couples, usually without payment of alimony."

Now, while there can be no rational objection to all the three reforms the book—or the movement—demands, we are puzzled by this limitation to *childless* couples alone. We note that all advocates of companionate marriage raise the bars when a child is born.

We should suppose that in all cases where husband and wife cannot agree, their separation would be good for the children themselves who are otherwise brought up in an atmosphere of hate which is likely to affect their character and behavior for all time to come. Companionate marriage is thus not only a misnomer, but, what is far worse, a premium on childlessness, at its best, and a noose upon the mates in a procreative union, at its worst. All the liberty to couples, but none to parents! Worse than the present laws.

Then, again, nowhere do we find an

answer to the natural query about the procedure in cases where either the husband or the wife refuses to consent to a divorce. The author's reasoning seems to be that agreement will always be reached.

We pity the mere-man in a Lindseian companionate marriage. He will be in constant fear of his wife becoming a mother and locking him in for life. . . .

It is good for the girls, but bad for the men,—and hell for the parents.

As to the book as such, it is very entertainingly written and holds the interest of the reader,—until he gets surfeited with the mass of repetitious detail.

The Child and the Home. By B. Liber. 3rd Edition. 1927. Vanguard Press.

Dr. Ben Zion Liber, the well-known progressive, ethical vegetarian, radical social idealist, enlightened Jewish nationalist, and experienced physician, approaches the old and ever new problems of child upbringing with an open mind and from a variety of angles as may be permitted by his fundamental tenet in education, that of aiding the development of independent social characters amidst a changing world.

From the 47 pages of press comment in various countries appended to the book, we gather that his views have reached a large number of people and must have in some way influenced the current opinions on the subject. But as the author says in his remarks on "Mistakes of Radical Parents", on page 79, "Let us rather add a grain of skepticism even to those ideas about which we are enthusiastic".

The modern diversity of cultural influences and the constant conflict of the new with the old, with the resulting clash of mental habits and social groupings are making it both imperative and possible for the individual to grow independent and self-reliant. This has given rise to a philosophy of education which

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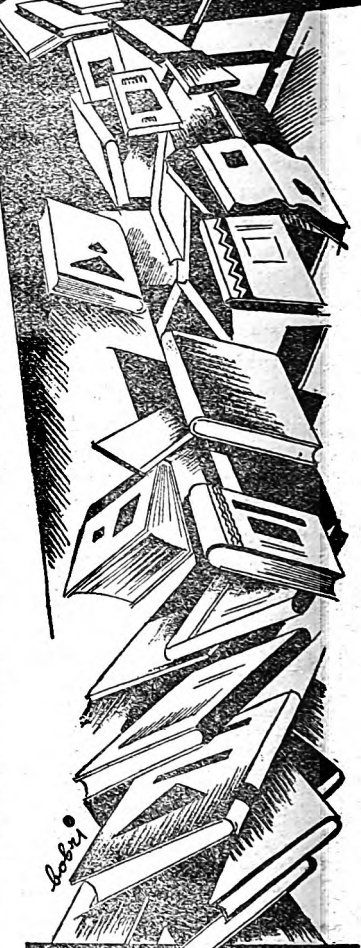
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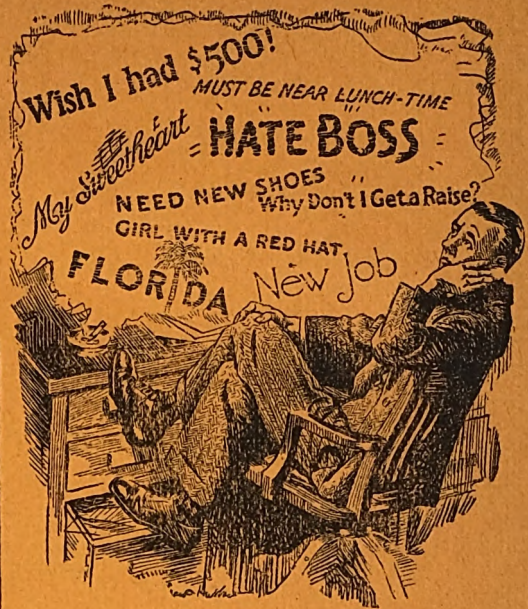
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